

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8757

INFO AMMBASSY BANGKOK 3760

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH

AMEMBASSY SAIGON

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA, CB

SUBJ: GOJ PROPOSES MULTINATIONAL APPEAL FOR PEACE IN CAMBODIA

REF: STATE 180038

1. I MET FONMIN ADAM MALIK SEPT 14, QRRIVING IN HIS OFFICE ON THE HEELS OF JAPANESE AMBASSADOR TANAKA AS HE FINISHED DISCUSSING ABOVE SUBJECT WITH MALIK. MALIK MENTIONED THAT TANAKA HAD BEEN TALKING TO HIM ABOUT THE JAPANESE PROPOSAL AND WE LAUNCHED IMMEDIATELY INTO THE SUBJECT. I INDICATED THAT WE THOUGHT THIS COULD BE A VERY HELPFUL ACTION, THAT WE FELT THAT IT SHOULD BE DONE ASAP AND IN ANY CASE NOT LATER THAN THE BEGINNING OF THE UNGA SO AS TO COUNTER EFFORTS FLOWING OUT OF CONFIDENTIAL

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THE NONALIGNED CONFERENCE AND OTHERWISE TO SEAT

SIHANOUK, AND THAT WE HOPED INDONESIA WOULD SUPPORT THE APPEAL. MALIK MANAGED TO INDICATE HIS APPROVAL OF THE IDEA WITHOUT COMMITTING HIMSELF. HE SAID THE TROUBLE WAS THERE HAD BEEN NO CONTACT YET BETWEEN HIGHER ESCHELONS IN THE PHNOM PENH GOVERNMENT AND THE RED KHMER. WHILE HE CLEARLY RECOGNIZED THAT THE JAPANESE MOVE, SUPPORTED BY ASEAN, AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND MIGHT SERVE TO COUNTER SOMEWHAT PRESSURES FOR THE SEATING OF SIHANOUK, HE FELT IT WAS TOO BAD MORE HAD NOT HAPPENED IN BRINGING THE CONTENDING SIDES TOGETHER AT A HIGHER LEVEL THAN HAD YET TAKEN PLACE. I REITERATED OUR HOPE THAT THE JAPANESE INITIATIVE WOULD BE TAKEN AND STRONGLY SUPPORTED.

2. I COMPARED NOTES LATER WITH TANAKA. TANAKA

SAID MALIK HAD CUT INTO HIS PRESENTATION AND SAID "EVERYTHING IS ALL RIGHT." MALIK ALSO SAID THAT HE WOULD INSTRUCT THE INDONESIAN DELEGATION AT THE UN TO BEGIN CONSULTATION IMMEDIATELY WITH THE OTHER PARTIES TO THE PROPOSED APPEAL ON THE DETAILS OF THE JOINT ACTION.

3. TANAKA SAID THAT WHEN HE HAD TALKED WITH MALIK ABOUT THE PROPOSAL ORIGINALLY PRIOR TO NAC,

MALIK HAD BEEN COMPLETELY NEGATIVE. THE TIMING WAS WRONG AND THE PROPOSAL WAS UNACCEPTABLE, MALIK TOLD TANAKA. LATER TANAKA HAD SEEN PRESIDENT SUHARTO WHO HAD EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT MATTERS WERE AT AN EXTREMELY DELICATE STAGE IN CAMBODIA AND IT WAS BETTER TO REMAIN QUIET. DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY TANAKA HAD SEEN INTELLIGENCE CHIEF GENERAL SUTOPO JUWONO WHO HAD EXPRESSED HIS REACTION IN PROS AND CONS BUT WAS GENERALLY NEGATIVE ABOUT THE PROPOSAL ALTHOUGH NOT CONCLUSIVELY SO. AFTER SEEING MALIK TODAY, TANAKA HAD GONE TO SEE CHIEF OF PALACE SECRETARIAT GENERAL SUDHARMONO AND ASKED HIM TO CONVEY TO SUHARTO IMPORTANCE JAPANESE ATTACH TO CONFIDENTIAL

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"FRIENDLY, FREE COUNTRIES OF ASIA" ACTING TOGETHER ON THIS MATTER. HE SAID SUDHARMONO HAD QUESTIONED HIM CLOSELY ON DETAILS SUCH AS WORDING OF PROPOSED APPEAL AND SEEMED TO FIND NO EXCEPTIONS TO IT. TANAKA FELT THAT SIDHARMONO WAS INQUIRING ONLY IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO REPORT FULLY TO SUHARTO AND NOT BECAUSE HE WILL TAKE ANY PARTICULAR STAND HIMSELF. (COMMENT: THERE HAVE BEEN SOME SUGGESTIONS THAT SUDHARMONO HAS BEEN STANDING IN

WAY OF CERTAIN FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES SUCH AS,
FOR EXAMPLE, RAISING SOUTH KOREAN REPRESENTATION IN
INDONESIA BUT I SUSPECT THAT SUDHARMONO IS MERELY
REFLECTING SUHARTO'S VIEWS.)

4. NGTNAKA SAID HE FOUND IT VERY DIFFICULT TO BE
CERTAIN THAT MALIK'S APPARENTLY FULL APPROVAL AND
COMMITMENT TO HIM SHOULD BE TAKEN AT ITS FACE VALUE.
"YOU KNOW MALIK," HE SAID. TANAKA SAID THAT HE FELT
THAT SUHARTO IS KEY IN THIS CASE AND THAT IT IS
SUHARTO'S CHARACTER AND STYLE TO BE CAUTIOUS AND TO MOVE SLOWLY.

5. ON DIFFERENT BUT PERHAPS SOMEWHAT RELATED
MATTER. TANAKA AND I COMPARED NOTES ON OUR
IMPRESSIONS OF REASONS FOR DELAY IN INCREASING
LEVEL OF SOUTH KOREAN REPRESENTATION HERE. WE AGREED
THAT THIS APPARENTLY STEMS FROM SUHARTO'S DISIN-
CLINATION TO MOVE AHEAD AS MALIK HAS PROBABLY
RECOMMENDED. TANAKA INDICATED THAT HE HAD
DISCUSSED THE MATTER AT SOME LENGTH WITH SUHARTO,
AND THAT AS IN CASE OF CAMBODIA, SUHARTO HAD FELT THE DELICATE
NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO KOREAS SHOULD NOT BE DISTURBED.
TANAKA AND I ALSO SPECULATED THAT WITH RESPECT TO BOTH
THE CAMBODIA AND THE KOREAN ISSUES, SUHARTO MAY BE
SENSITIVE TO GIVING OFFENSE TO OTHERS AMONG THE
NONALIGNED, PARTICULARLY IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

6. COMMENT: MALIK TOLD ME HE WILL BE SEEING SUHARTO
TOMORROW AND I SUSPECT THAT INDONESIAN ACTION ON
BOTH MATTERS DISCUSSED ABOVE WILL DEPEND ON SUHARTO.
SINCE AMBASSADOR TANAKA DEPARTS FOR JAPAN TOMORROW,
I WILL ATTEMPT TO CHECK WITH MALIK FURTHER ASAP AFTER
TOMORROW. WILL ALSO BE IN TOUCH WITH JAPANESE EMBASSY
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TO MATCH OUR IMPRESSIONS WITH THEIRS. DESPITE MALIK'S APPARENTLY
FORTHRIGHT INDICATION TO TANAKA THAT HE WOULD SUPPORT JAPANESE
PROPOSAL, MY IMPRESSIONS ARE THAT MALIK IS TROUBLED BY
LACK OF PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS AMONG CONTENDING FACTIONS
IN CAMBODIA AND THAT IN ANY CASE HE WILL HAVE TO OVERCOME
SUHARTO'S NATURAL CAUTION IN SUPPORTING ANY NEW MOVE. I
THINK IT WOULD BE WISE TO AVOID GETTING IN FRONT OF JAPANESE

ON THIS MATTER, HOWEVER, TO AVOID GIVING IMPRESSION IT
IS OUR, RATHER THAN THEIR, INITIATIVE.
GALBRAITH

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